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Embassy in Moscow: A Furor Grows

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WASHINGTON, April 10 — In other circumstances, Secretary of State George P. Shultz's departure for Moscow this weekend for talks on arms control might have evoked strong expectations of a fresh start on improving Soviet-United States relations.

News But that prospect was
Analysis fractured this week by the furor on Capitol Hill over security lapses at the old

and new American Embassies in Moscow and by deep divisions in the Reagan Administration on the questions Mr. Shultz is to discuss with Foreign Minister Eduard A. Shevardnadze.

As a result, a cloud of vindictive discussion and political disarray now shadows the Secretary of State's trip. Events and disclosures this week in Moscow and Congress and within the Administration have dimmed not only the chances for arms control but also the prospects for President Reagan's political recovery as well.

Already battered by the Iran-contra affair and deserted by Republican senators in a vote last week to override his veto of the highway bill, Mr. Reagan found his Administration the target of intense criticism not only from his Democratic adversaries but also from his natural allies among the bedrock of Congressional conservatives.

Shultz Urged Not to Go

The two groups joined to pass, by a vote of 70 to 30, a resolution urging Mr. Shultz not to go to Moscow until he could find "secure facilities" for the talks, either in Moscow or elsewhere.

Today, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader, stepped up the criticism of the State Department. In a Senate speech, he said he had received "disturbing reports" that in 1984 Arthur A. Hartman, then the United States Ambassador to Moscow, resisted making recommended security improvements in the embassy "on the rather extraordinary grounds that such improvements would somehow damage U.S.-Soviet relations."

He asked the department to make available to the Senate leadership the "harshly worded cable," which Mr. Dole said he had not seen and which Mr. Hartman sent to Mr. Shultz objecting to proposed security measures.

Mr. Hartman was asked about the cable at a hearing in the House of Representatives last week and said he had no memory of it.

Death Penalty Sought for Spies

Senator Dole and other Republicans also introduced a package of bills this week, one of which would permit Federal courts to impose the death penalty on civilians convicted of espionage.

Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the majority leader, said today that he supported the death penalty for spies and planned to introduce his own bill. He sponsored legislation last year after the Walker family spy ring was uncovered.

"Why not?" Mr. Byrd said this morning at his daily news conference. "These people are traitors. Execute them. They're not fit to live. We've got to quit being so chicken-hearted."

Although the nonbinding resolution had no legal effect, it was the political equivalent of a vote of no confidence in Mr. Shultz's mission. The sponsors were a group of the most conservative Republicans in the Senate, including Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, Gordon J. Humphrey of New Hampshire and Jesse Helms of North Carolina, whose distaste for arms control and suspicion of the State Department are well known.

Although the resolution was by no means a Senate referendum on arms control, its origins and the strong bipartisan support it received — 36 Republicans and 34 Democrats, including

A cloud of criticism hangs over Shultz visit.

Mr. Byrd and Alan Cranston of California, the majority whip — may cause the Soviet negotiators to question whether any arms control that emerges from the talks could receive Senate ratification.

Some of the Senate's strongest arms-control supporters voted against the resolution for fear of jeopardizing the talks. Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, who has been one of the Administration's most persistent critics on the question of embassy security, voted against the resolution. None of the opponents spoke during the brief Senate debate.

Asked to explain Senator Leahy's vote, his press secretary, Joe Jamele, summarized the Senator's view as: "Let them use magic slates and talk in a Winnebago, the arms-control talks have to go on. That supersedes any other concern."

But Senator John H. Chafee, Republican of Rhode Island, who is one of the Senate's leading supporters of arms control, voted for the resolution after a stinging speech in which he called the embassy situation in Moscow a "mess," "disaster" and "a pathetic tale of shortsightedness, waste and

what appears to be naïveté."

His press secretary, Cleve Corlett, said he did not see a vote for the resolution as calling arms control into question.

If the message from the Senate was, at best, ambiguous, the Secretary of State's position was further clouded by the Administration's own actions. In giving Mr. Shultz his negotiating instructions, President Reagan rejected the State Department's position in favor of the Pentagon's views on several key issues.

Rebuffed on such matters as strategic arms, nuclear testing and the timing of deployment of "Star Wars" systems, Mr. Shultz would be in an extremely awkward position even had the embassy security issue not arisen.

But the espionage scandal proved irresistible to many politicians, and it took on a life of its own this week. The week that ended with the Senate vote began with a midnight visit to the American Embassy in Moscow by two members of the House of Representatives who left Washington in virtual anonymity and returned to find themselves celebrities.

The two, Representatives Daniel A. Mica, Democrat of Florida, and Olympia J. Snowe, Republican of Maine, faced 100 television cameras when they arrived at Dulles International Airport on Wednesday. Mr. Mica, chairman of the International Operations Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Ms. Snowe, the ranking Republican member, were bemused and a little baffled, though scarcely displeased, by their sudden prominence.

Mr. Mica provided a dramatic image of the embassy security problem by demonstrating a child's slate, which the State Department had suggested that he use while in the embassy to prevent eavesdropping by hidden bugs. His staff director had bought half a dozen of the slates at a toy store and taken them on the trip.

Mr. Mica's subcommittee had never before achieved a high profile in the House. The panel had been receiving evidence on security problems at the new Moscow embassy for a year without attracting any public notice.

"It's very strange," Mr. Mica said, as House colleagues interrupted the interview to congratulate him on the way he had handled the issue.